

# DISCONTENT

"MOTHER OF PROGRESS"

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WHOLE NO. 159.

## THE ESSENCE OF ANARCHISM.

The first outburst of popular passion against all who call themselves Anarchists is beginning to give way to a desire to investigate the real meaning and purpose of the Anarchist propaganda, and to learn whether or no its teachings constitute a real menace to society. As Anarchists, we should welcome the most searching inquiry. If our doctrines will not stand the test of an impartial scrutiny, we deserve some of the evil that has been said of us. If we are in reality ravening wolves, breathing threatenings and slaughter, we merit little sympathy, if we are treated as such. But the scrutiny must be an impartial one. We are not to be judged by sensational newspapers and their dupes, nor by individuals who have already prejudged the case under the influence of passion, and are incapable of consulting a calm and rational judgment on the subject.

"Stamp out Anarchy!" is now heard on many sides. The persons raising this cry do not mean what they say. They are sincere; but they simply do not know what Anarchy is. Nobody except a few boodler politicians could seriously wish to extirpate a peaceful social philosophy. What is really meant is that assassination and deeds of violence and incendiary language calculated to incite them must be put down. All this can be accomplished without touching the basic principles of the Anarchist propaganda. The strongest governmentalist this side of Russia will hardly care to deny that peaceful citizens have a right to promulgate any doctrine which does not contain an incitement to crime. The days of the Inquisition have passed.

Anarchy, then, must be identified with Terrorism, to justify its suppression. This, however, is wholly unwarranted. Some Anarchists are terrorists; but the large majority in this country are not. The Russian terrorists are not Anarchists at all. Most of them are either Republicans or constitutional Monarchists. Terrorism is not the fruit of any propaganda—Anarchist, Socialist, Republican or Monarchist. It is a sporadic phenomenon, which appears among individuals in the different countries. Checking any public propaganda only adds fuel to the flame, increasing the vengeful bitterness of the terrorists, and creating new ones. If a propaganda has the slightest tendency to become dangerous, it is rendered ten thousand times more so by being driven to secret methods. Open complaint evaporates in words; secret hate broods over its real or imagined wrongs, until it becomes crazed by desperation, and issues forth in some terrible deed. Even a vicious idea is more effectively dealt with by exposure than by persecution. To restrain terrorism, a sharp line of demarkation must be drawn between propagandists and terrorists. Plotters and doers and advocates of violence must be dealt with as such, and

not as Anarchists or theorists of any other school. Persecution for opinion's sake smacks of the Dark Ages, and has never paid in the history of mankind. You cannot cure social unrest by stifling those who complain.

Anarchy is thus defined by the Century Dictionary:

"A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty."

Read this over carefully; and see if you can detect any latent criminality. Is there even the faintest intimation of violence? Yet this, and nothing more, is the real nature of Anarchy. Anarchists are theorists, not plotters. They look forward to a social ideal, and seek to awaken a response to that ideal in the minds and hearts of men. Even the most patriotic citizen may consistently be an "ultimate Anarchist;" and many whose "loyalty" is unquestioned do not hesitate, at least in private, to pronounce themselves such. There is no thought of any sudden abolition of government, but of the gradual evolution of society to the point where government will be outgrown. There is nothing "treasonable" in the enunciation of such a theory; and its immediate effect on those who accept it is to individualize them more strongly; to render them a little more tenacious of their own rights, and a great deal more regardful of the rights of their neighbors. If the little clique of terrorists should be wiped out, or, far better, taught the folly and wrongfulness of seeking to advance a good cause by bad weapons, this real, educative, ennobling, philosophical Anarchist movement would simply gather strength; since all would perceive plainly that no evil results could possibly flow from it.

Our criticism of existing institutions is sometimes sharp, but not more so than the criticisms of all the other parties on each other, and especially of the opposition parties on the party in power. Such criticism is not incendiary, but healthful. It tends to put the defenders of these institutions on their mettle; to lead to the purification of abuses; and to cause those who believe in government to exercise themselves more vigorously in order to secure as much liberty and justice as possible under the law, and thus lessen the weight of the criticism. Henry Watterson showed a fair sense of the correct idea, when he declared recently:

"We must meet . . . Anarchism not merely with cleaner hands, but with a purer public spirit, if not a deeper philosophy. We must disseminate the lesson that government exists, not for the private gain of any, nor for the cure of any private grief, but for justice, the citadel and the belltower of the public peace and order."

So be it. If we Anarchists are wrong, Mr. Watterson has pointed out the true method of refuting us. Governments will not disappear, until the great mass

of mankind shall cease to believe in their necessity and usefulness. Meanwhile, let their advocates quit them like men, and see to it that the governments in which they believe bring forth such good fruit as to disarm criticism, or to render it ineffective. Refutation is better than suppression, and immeasurably more effective. Even if government were to be a permanent institution, the existence of a permanent opposition could only be of benefit. History has recorded the invariable degeneration and decay of institutions which have found no better and more honorable means of selfprotection than the forcible suppression of free speech.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

## ROGUES OR FOOLS.

The papers of September 9 report the following sayings of our local doctors of divinity, whose peculiar God requires them to wear clothes of a particular cut:

Rev. Frank K. Baker: "Anarchy neither fears God nor regards man."

Rev. W. E. Dugan: "The publication of anarchistic literature should be made a capital crime."

Rev. Cherington: "Anarchism, the openly avowed enemy of all social, civil and religious order."

Rev. E. E. Dille: "There is only one place in the universe where Anarchy prevails, and that is hell; and if anyone insists upon having Anarchy that is the place for him to go; but let him not try to make a hell here."

Rev. Philip Coombs: "We shall surely not fail to pray and hope, and to try to bring about some national action by which every known Anarchist may be expelled from the nation or imprisoned with hard labor for life."

Rev. William Rader: "An Anarchist shot the president. What is an Anarchist? Does he believe in God? No. In civil marriage? No. In government? No. HE IS A MAN WITHOUT A FLAG, (here's a climax!!) a dangerous rattlesnake of the republic. What shall be done with him? Shall we send him back to his native land? Not alive. Let him be returned in a box. Any man who applauds such an act of assassination, or attempts to haul down the flag of the nation, ought to be shot on the spot. He should be treated as a murderer and one who sanctions murder. In the name of Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley the Anarchists of America ought to be suppressed, beginning with Paterson, N. J., and Chicago and ending with San Francisco."

Thus endeth the reading of six specimens out of many utterances by men who pose as teachers of a religion that declares "God is Love."

His Holiness Pope Leo is now writing an important encyclical directed against Anarchism.

John Czolgosz says his brother Leon, who shot President McKinley, "is not an Anarchist, he never read Emma Goldman's books; he was too lazy to read."

Leon Czolgosz could not be an Anarchist, because they, as well as Socialists, are opposed to murder, either in retail or wholesale quantities; they

would not even christianize a very weak Filipino by killing him; but churches are in favor of murder, quoting their God—the Bible—the yard.

Lecky says:

"Almost all Europe, for many centuries, was inundated with blood, which was shed at the direct instigation, or with the full approval, of the ecclesiastical authorities. . . . The clergy were the untiring enemies of rationalism, the noblest of all the conquests of civilization, and it was only by a long series of anti-ecclesiastical revolution that the sword was at last wrung from their grasp."—W. E. H. Lecky, M. A., Vol. II, pp. 40, 87.

For the benefit of the rabid six, and any other fools, the Century Dictionary defines:

ANARCHY—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.

And all Anarchists are rationalists.

Jesus by whipping the usurers, single handed, out of the temple, proved himself an Anarchist; and he also inculcated the motto of the present-day Anarchists: "Whatsoever things ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them."

A prominent attorney recently said: "There is no law in America but money." And we know disorder prevails from Nome to Manila, in fact wherever there are reverends.

Professor Trigg, of Chicago University, recently told his class in English literature that "the whole trend of modern thought is toward Anarchism. All our great thinkers display this tendency. Emerson, Walt Whitman, Shelley, in fact all poets are adherents of Anarchism. The individualistic tone is the predominant in all our recent literature. We are moving toward Anarchism and individual freedom."

Freedom must be individual, or it is not freedom. No rational or honest being would have ordered the Declaration of Independence to be read in Manila! "The consent of the governed" and soldiers in conjunction therewith is a hypocritical phantasmagoria.

Parsons will say anything, and do almost anything, except the one thing needful for our happiness—get off our backs. They know government is the only power that allows them to keep on our backs, and government is so corrupt that it is only the ignorant superstitions of the church that makes its existence possible.

Anarchism is the noblest ideal of man. Its ultimate aim is free production and free consumption; and this would free women from slavery of more than one kind; if anyone wishes to grasp the possibility of such a state it is beautifully portrayed in "News From Nowhere," by William Morris, the grandly manly English poet AND ANARCHIST; who, being a man, is not ashamed to acknowledge the faith that is in him.

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## OFF AND ON.

The Tacoma Ledger has been outdoing the majority of even the capitalistic papers in the ferocity and malignancy of its lies about all connected with the Anarchist propaganda. In the hope of administering a slight corrective, I sent the following letter:

Editor of the Tacoma Ledger: I wonder if you have enough sense of fairness to allow "the other side" a hearing in your columns. You have written vehement words about Anarchy and Anarchists, and ought in justice to spare a brief amount of space to a statement of their side of the case. There are thousands of men and women in this country, many of them native born Americans, to whom Anarchism, as a speculative political philosophy, appeals very strongly. They are propagandists through education, but in no sense inciters to violent deeds.

If I may cite my own case as closely in point, I am an American of Americans, a descendant of a long line of patriotic ancestors, and a graduate of Harvard college. I love my country today as much as when I first learned to lip the words of the hymn written by my own grandfather, "My country, 'tis of thee." Yet I am an Anarchist, made so by simple reasoning and investigation. I honestly believe that men are not criminals by instinct, but that their natural faculties are warped by the unfavorable environment created by the artificial institutions of today. I believe that the tendency of government is to effect an undesirable crystallization of manners and relationships which is inimical to progress. I believe that in complete freedom simple self interest would inculcate a higher justice, a warmer fraternity, a closer fellowship, a more effective cooperation for social and industrial purposes, than can possibly be secured by rules and regulations of any description.

Queer beliefs these! I do not here attempt to give the reasons for them. This would require many pages and close attention. I only cite them as a rough explanation of what Anarchists really believe. You will not find any incitement to murder there; nor does the Anarchist philosophy as such, contain any inflammatory teaching. It is simply an attempt to outline a society based on normal human relationships. It may be visionary, impracticable, what you will; but it is certainly not incendiary. Many of the leading Anarchists of this country, including W. H. Van Ornum, author of "Why Government at All"—the leading Anarchist work of American authorship—are followers of Tolstoi's extreme doctrine of absolute nonresistance. Tolstoi himself, by the way, is an avowed Anarchist.

Then why these "Anarchist" assassinations? The answer is so simple that only the grossest prejudice could miss

it. Every age has produced its quota of desperate and violent men. They generally class themselves with the most radical propaganda of the hour, and strike at the enemies of that propaganda. The millions of Baptists of this country would hardly care to be held responsible for the wild acts of certain of the early Anabaptists. Neither Republicanism nor Puritanism in England was justly charged with the bloody act of Fenton, the assassin of Buckingham. The goal of many of the fiercest terrorists in Russia is nothing more extreme than a constitutional monarchy. Similarly, Anarchism does not breed assassins. The born assassin merely calls himself an Anarchist today, just as in other days and lands he has taken the name which affords the most plausible pretext for his deed.

Nay, we need not leave the United States for illustrations of the weakness of the logic which condemns Anarchism on account of one of its supporters. Was the south responsible for Booth? Shall the church be held guilty on account of Guiteau, who declared that he acted under the bidding of God? Should all Republicans be driven from the country, on account of the cowardly assassination of Goebel? These are cases precisely in point; and the negative answer which would be returned in each of them applies with equal precision to the great body of the Anarchists of the United States.

I know Emma Goldman well, and have often heard her lecture. Never in my hearing has she said anything which could be legitimately construed as an appeal to violence.

I also know most of the men who were arrested in Chicago. For some months I acted as editor of Free Society, then published in San Francisco. Isaak, so far from being a plotter, often spoke of the folly of plots and secret societies. He felt that the propaganda of education was the all-essential thing today. I have been in close touch with the Anarchist movement in this country, and have lectured in Cleveland within the past two years; and I never heard of Czolgosz. He may be a hanger-on of the Anarchist movement; but I very much doubt it.

The suggestions of the Ledger are atrocious in the extreme. Despotism could hardly go farther than to exterminate all the believers in a certain social or political theory, because certain persons affected with homicidal mania declared themselves partisans of it.

The Anarchist philosophy must stand or fall strictly on its merits. Less than a majority could certainly not secure the abolition of the government under which we live; and believers in majority rule will certainly admit that the majority has a right to do so, if it wills. Anarchism must therefore remain simple speculation, until the great body of the people become convinced of its soundness and practicability. Let it have free course, along with kindred theories. If it is right, it ought to secure popular adhesion; if it is wrong, it can be readily vanquished in public discussion. Persecution can do no good, and only tends to arouse a spirit of retaliation.

While there is discontent, the lives of rulers will not be safe; and the utter extinction of the Anarchist propaganda would not render them a whit more so.

Just as many assassins would exist; but they would find some other name by which to call themselves. Anarchy does not create discontent, nor increase it in the slightest degree. It simply endeavors to point out the cause of it, and to indicate a cure which may be adopted when the people are educated up to it. Its mission is to educate in the direction of individuality and self-government. Let the rulers adopt what means they think best to stay the desperate hand of the crazed or perverse; but let them not confound the innocent with the guilty, and whelm in one condemnation all who hold an honest theory of the reconstruction of society.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

The Ledger, with characteristic dishonesty, failed to publish my letter, but printed the editorial. On comparing it with my letter, the grossness of its misrepresentations becomes apparent. Of course, the contemptible juggling could be trusted to pass with its readers, who had been given no opportunity to learn the facts in the case.

The Ledger acknowledges the receipt of a long letter from James F. Morton, Jr., an Anarchist avowed and unashamed. It is well written and bears the aspect of plausibility were one to accept it with utter disregard for existing facts. The author wonders if this paper has "the sense of fairness to allow the other side a hearing."

It has been the custom of the Ledger to give a hearing to all, but it has never lent itself to the defence of crime, even at the urgent request of the criminal, and must decline to do so now. Unfortunately for Mr. Morton there is no "other side" in the sense that is recognized when people of opposing opinion contend concerning matters affecting their interests. There is no chance here for more than a single view. One would with scant patience listen to the dissertation of a libertine on the subject of virtue; one would resent an ethical lecture from a wretch apprehended with the blood of outraged innocence upon him.

According to Mr. Morton, the born assassin merely calls himself an Anarchist. It is the born assassin the country is after, and if the snatching of him by the police decimate the ranks of Anarchy, of course, this will be a mere coincidence. It is strange that the born assassin should drift so naturally into the camp of Anarchy. Why do not the Anarchists who, as Mr. Morton assures us, love their country, put them out? Why is it that when an attempt is made to kill a ruler the weapon is invariably wielded by "a born assassin" who if not an Anarchist entertains the delusion that he is? Perhaps it is because the Anarchists preach the doctrine of murder, select the murderer, cheer him when he succeeds, mourn over him when he is caught and put to death. Possibly it is because when the president of the United States is stricken down the Anarchists are the only ones to rejoice. This conduct on their part must mislead the "born assassin" into the belief that he himself is an Anarchist, and the real article at that.

It is nothing to the public that occasionally there may be an Anarchist who would not advocate the butchery of people not of his faith. The public knows the attempted assassination was by an Anarchist, was pleasing to the Anarchists, and was strictly in consonance with their teachings. It does not need to know more. Mr. Morton's ideal type of Anarchist is far outnumbered by the "born assassin" who inspires, directs and executes deeds black, foul and appalling, and wholly without shadow of excuse.

Mr. Morton has a word to say about "higher justice" and "warmer fraternity." Beautiful thought! This country is in favor of higher justice, and its intelligence instructs it that a prime move in the attainment of this must be to

visit punishment upon the transgressors of human and divine law. As to warmer fraternity, no fraternity with the thing is desired. When he has been exterminated, surviving decency, looking about with no fear of assassins lurking in the shadows, can afford to be fraternal. President McKinley was in fraternity extending his hand to clasp that of the Anarchist who showed the Anarchist idea of fraternity by shooting one willing to be his friend.

It is idle for an organization, the only manifestation of whose work is seen when the bullet speeds or the knife descends, or the bomb spreads death and ruin, to claim that it is the essence of gentleness, or that its advocates love the country that has harbored them. Never was more abortive effort to steal the liver of heaven.

In one point alone is there possibility of agreeing with Mr. Morton. This is in his statement that Anarchy should be permitted to run its course. It should not only be permitted to run, but its speed accelerated. The course will be found to end in one of several places, including the gallows, the penitentiary, and the madhouse. These sentiments, having been expressed before, do not meet the approval of Mr. Morton. He regards them as the expression of despotism. The man who slew Humbert regarded his sentence as the expression of despotism. Czolgosz considered the blow he received in the face an expression of despotism. The salvation of the country depends upon despotism of this type.

The manner in which the land has harbored nests of snakes, hissing and fanging society, is a shame and a reproach to it. It has reaped of the penalty, and unless it clears out these snakes now will in bitterness and sorrow reap more. Mr. Morton need not tell sane people that the mission of the Anarchist is to "educate." Who gives to the brutal and beetle-browed criminal, skulker of the night; coward, sodden and unclean—who gives to this creature authority "to educate"? Why not call the footpad in from the highways, the burglar from his nocturnal rounds, the pickpocket and the abandoned outcast, and sit at their feet to learn wisdom.

It may be admitted that Mr. Morton is different from others. He is not illiterate, and he claims to be an American. More the shame to him for herding with the vile, and pretending that their scheme of discontent and lust for violence is "a certain political and social theory." It is crime reduced to a system, a blind and foolish crime.

In answer to this rehash of disproved calumny, I wrote the following letter:

Editor of the Ledger: The extraordinary editorial with which you deign to notice my recent letter to you is sufficient answer to my query concerning your "sense of fairness." When you fill columns of space with the most bitter vituperations directed against an entire class of men and women, and yet dare not present a simple and temperate statement from one of their representatives, it is evident that the plain, unvarnished truth is not the object of your quest. You can scarcely fail to be aware of the cowardice and dishonesty of such a course. You may succeed in gulling a certain proportion of your readers; but your own self-respect can scarcely fail to suffer. You know perfectly well that there was no "defence of crime" in my letter, and that it contained not a word of apology for assassination.

There is an "other side" when all the believers in a given theory are fiercely denounced, on account of the crime of one who claims to espouse that theory. It is only in the case of Anarchists that this "other side" is wantonly disregarded. The statements made in my previous letter are capable of exact verification. An unbiased investigation of



the lives of the great body of the Anarchists of the United States would forever dispel the nightmare that their theory is simply a "scheme of discontent and lust for violence." That we are discontented with certain existing conditions is true, but this discontent is far from being confined to the Anarchist ranks. It is prevalent everywhere, and antecedes both Socialism and Anarchy. The bloodiest revolutions of the past century took place before the Anarchist movement existed, or the Socialist propaganda was sufficiently far advanced to be a serious factor. The present Democratic party, which contains nearly half the voters of the country, has made itself the mouthpiece of an active and clamorous "discontent." It is no sin to outline a different state of society as an ideal toward which to work. By this means, the progress of the past has been achieved. Anarchism is the application to social problems of the individualism taught by Emerson among philosophers, and by Herbert Spencer among scientific observers. The murder of rulers, or of other persons, is in no wise "strictly in consonance" with any department of this philosophy.

Speaking for myself, I am not only opposed to assassination, but to the shedding of human blood under any circumstance, save where required for self-defence, taken in its most literal sense. I regret the shooting of McKinley, not because he is a president, but because he is a man. But you who fulminate so savagely against Anarchists because of one man's deed, fill no columns with denunciations of the employing class in this country on account of the atrocious crime in Tampa, Fla., by which thirteen workmen were left to perish by starvation on a desert island, and rescued by the barest chance. With you is a "distinction of persons," which does not prevail with us, and which is strangely out of harmony with the teachings of democracy. It is the boast of defenders of the law that under its ægis all human life is sacred, even that of the sentenced murderer, up to the moment when his legal doom falls due. You, in support of law, are seeking to inflame your readers to a pitch which will lead them to the commission of deeds of lawlessness. You have already given more than half approval to the outrage committed by a hoodlum mob on a public speaker who was not even an Anarchist, and who advocated no social change except by the eminently peaceful and legal method of the ballot. No Anarchist journal ever deals in such incendiary language as you have repeatedly employed.

I deny that Anarchist appeals incited Czolgosz to his crime. Despite your venomous slanders, Emma Goldman does not endorse or counsel deeds of blood. She denounces institutions, rather than individuals. If public criticism is to be suppressed, where is the line to be drawn? Will the Ledger admit that the assassination of Goebel was inspired by Republican editorials? Yet here the relation of cause to effect is far closer than in the case of a homicidal lunatic who hears an Anarchist speaker say that self government is the only true government, and then rushes off to kill some individual, whose death cannot alter social conditions in the least. The Anarchist propaganda has been going on for many years. Yet no

attempt has hitherto been made in this country by any "Anarchist" on the life of a public official. This Polish half wit was the first to stain the name of Anarchy with such a deed. He no more represents the movement than Guiteau represented Christianity. If Anarchy has inspired one attempted assassination during its entire history in this country, who has inspired all the others, committed by men of all shades of professed opinions? The deed of Czolgosz is not "pleasing to the Anarchists" nor "in consonance with their teachings." It is utterly opposed to mine. About a year ago I wrote in Free Society that any man who should try to kill McKinley would be the worst possible enemy to the Anarchist movement. Little as I admire McKinley, I sincerely hope he will recover to complete his term.

Neither my proclivities nor my antecedents, as it would be easy to demonstrate, if afforded the opportunity to do so, incline me to "herding with the vile." The Anarchists whom I have known are neither doers nor inspirers of criminal deeds. I have met a few foreign revolutionists, who could not entirely shake off the notions of the past, and who would applaud violent acts as a species of protest. These, however, were few and far between; and none of them would dream of planning or executing such an act. The vast body of Anarchists, including practically all of American lineage, are peaceful evolutionists, whose mission is to preach the highest social ideals of which they can conceive, and to leave the future to work out the application of them. Had I found the Anarchists of this country to be such as you have pictured them, I should long since have severed my connection with them.

I write thus confidently because I know whereof I speak. If you desired the truth, I could furnish you with proof of every statement made in this and my preceding letter. It was the act of a coward to withhold the latter from your readers, and to garble a portion of the contents to suit yourself. You were bound to make out a case at every hazard, regardless of fair play and common honesty. I congratulate you on the result.

JAS. F. MORTON, JR.

Senator Wellington, of Maryland, is not an Anarchist. He is a "statesman," who has been elevated to the highest legislative position that can be occupied by a citizen. When asked for a statement relative to the attack on McKinley, the urbane gentleman replied coldly: "McKinley and I are enemies. I have nothing good to say about him; and, under the circumstances, do not care to say anything bad. I am indifferent to the whole matter."

These are certainly callous words, which are far from exhibiting a humanitarian disposition toward a fellow mortal under the shadow of death. At the same time, they have at least the merit of frankness, and are in that superior to the Judas messages of condolence from some whose heart is by no means figured in their tongue. It is noticeable that the most savage denunciations of Senator Wellington come from journals which are themselves guilty of the most depraved and revolting heartlessness with reference to other human beings.

The Tacoma Ledger, for example, fills its columns with the blackest of lies about Emma Goldman, and crowns its edifice of infamy with the wish that her death may not be long delayed. The ferocity of the capitalist press is without palliation. Already the proposition is insidiously put forward to make the act of the madman in Buffalo a pretext for suppressing not only the Anarchist propaganda, but the preaching of Socialism and every manifestation of industrial discontent. It is to be made a crime to be dissatisfied with anything. If we will not appreciate the fact that we are prosperous and happy, the gospel of contentment must be shot into us. It is to be clearly understood that free speech means only freedom to approve of the acts of our rulers, and by no means admits the permissibility of expressing the faintest disapproval. The minority is no longer to be accorded even the right of protest.

The effect of these suggestions was seen the other day in the mobbing of a Socialist speaker in Tacoma. The "law-abiding" daily press, so far from denouncing the cowardly ruffians and would-be murderers, had nothing but mild approval for their dirty work. That a man should presume to differ in opinion from them, was cause enough for the brutal and cowardly assault. Noble principle! When you cannot answer a man's argument, just club him over the head. It will silence him just as quickly, and will be easier to accomplish, particularly if you are a hundred to one. Only such counsel comes with exceptionally poor grace from those who are perpetually crying up the virtues of the law, and extolling it as amply sufficient to protect every right and to redress every wrong. Evidently there is a screw loose somewhere, when the omnipotent laws require the assistance of lawless desperadoes.

It was to have been expected that the preachers of the country should seize on the present occasion to make themselves mouthpieces of the existing ignorant prejudices against Anarchism. It is to be regretted, however, that so many of them are willing to prostitute their influence for the sake of pandering to the already aroused passions of an unthinking people. I have not been able to learn that a single preacher anywhere has devoted five minutes to the denunciation of the "reputable citizens" who perpetrated the hideous crime in Tampa. Pulpit thunders are not heard when the common people are outraged. It is only when the rich and powerful are assailed, that the pulpit Boanerges deems it worth while to utter a loudly protesting cry.

But I have, of course, no fault to find with their expressions of sympathy with McKinley and of indignation against his assailant. But their attempts to confound Anarchy with assassination bespeak minds careless of the truth, and unwilling to investigate. The falsity of the charge is clearly pointed out elsewhere in this issue. The philosophic Anarchism of today is not an evangel of hatred and incendiarism. It is a scientific study of human relations, and seeks to awaken a larger respect for individuality, which will ultimately lead the race to the point where it will cease to feel the need of external laws. If it be but

a dream, it is at least a lofty and beautiful one, and no abhorrent spectre of private assassination or public carnage.

True to their trade, several of the clergy avouch that lack of religious belief lay at the bottom of the act of the assassin. It is somewhat late in the day for this insolent lie to gain credence anywhere. Freedom of thought has always tended to prevent violence, rather than to incite it. The records of history, down to the iniquitous wars now being waged by the "Christian" nations, show the church in any light but that of the bearer of peace and goodwill to all mankind.

The arrest of Emma Goldman is one of the grossest outrages of these troublous times. To assert that she could not possibly have been implicated in the deed of Czolgosz, is not only true, but so self-evident as to render the statement superfluous to all who know her. Nor are her teachings calculated to incite to murder; and no half-crazed assassin can succeed in making her his scapegoat. She has denounced injustice, but has never said a word which would lead to the conclusion that the killing of any individual or set of individuals could by any possibility contribute toward righting the wrong.

In joining the ranks of our calumniators, the Socialist papers of the country are shrewdly looking out for Number One; but they are not acting a manly part nor covering themselves with honor. These editors have been reading the Anarchist papers for years. They know perfectly well that Anarchy, however contrary to their own theories, is not a doctrine of lust and violence, nor an incentive to assassination. The dishonest methods of the capitalist dailies are ill adapted to representatives of Socialist principles. Is it of the nature of Socialism to breed cowards, who dare not even speak the truth, when other radicals are vilified and threatened with imprisonment, on account of a crime in no sense in harmony with their teachings or with their fundamental principles? The Whidby Islander forms an honorable exception to the general rule. Without receding an iota from its Socialist opinions, it takes occasion to vindicate Anarchists from the foul and malicious slanders current at the present time.

It is seriously proposed in some quarters to suppress the entire Anarchist propaganda, by making it a crime to express disbelief in the efficacy of government. Tyranny could hardly go much further. Every human institution is legitimately subject to criticism. If the criticism is ill founded, it will never take root with the people as a whole; and its consequences need therefore not be feared. On the other hand, if the criticism be a just one, it is of the utmost importance that it be widely circulated; since otherwise we should have no progress. A progressive society demands free speech as its cornerstone. Truth need not appeal to force; and falsehood cannot long be sheltered by it. As to dealing with assassins and inciters to assassination, philosophical Anarchy is not to be affected by any measures that may be taken. Our mission is a peaceful one; and we have no knife for the throat of any man. To suppress propaganda is not the way to suppress crime. Nearly all political assassinations take place in countries where is no freedom of the press; and the single exception in this land is the product of the most despotic of such countries. Is not the lesson plain?

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.



## ROGUES OR FOOLS.

Continued from page 1.

Nineteen hundred years of churchianity compels every man to have his hand at the throat of another for his bread and butter; and the parson's hand is on the throats of all his sheep for his bread and butter, and also on the throats of those who do not attend church, now that they have shifted their taxes on to our shoulders.

This violent clamor of the ecclesiastics for the lives of the innocent, because they are a class that do not believe in superstition, and, therefore, do not support churches, reminds me of an incident, recorded in some book of fables, relating to another superstition about the great goddess Diana, whom all Asia and the world worshiped, lest her magnificence should be despised, through the preaching of one Paul, a great boaster. (By the way, he had one very good point, which is lacking in the church today, for he boasted that he was not chargeable to any man, but worked with his hands.) The ancient and present great stir arose from the same cause; for a certain man named Demetrius, a silversmith, who made silver shrines for Diana, brought no small gain unto the craftsmen: Whom he called together with the workmen of like occupation, and said, Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth.

Now, just to oblige me, read over the sayings of the six bloodthirsty persons once more and—think.

KINGMOEN-JONES.

## MALTHUSIANISM REBUTED.

If Arthur C. Everett were familiar with the examination of the Malthusian theory in Progress and Poverty, I do not think he would have written the article in yours of August 28 on "More Malthusianism."

That theory is as dead as the laws against blasphemy; but some reformer periodically digs up the corpse, to make a bogey of.

BOLTON EARLE.

## HOME NEWS.

George Hoover has left us, after a short visit.

William Magoon has built an addition to his house.

W. A. Wotherspoon and Ruth and Laura Earle have returned to Denver.

Abner J. Pope's new house is practically completed, and is being occupied by O. B. Vose and Gertie Vose.

E. B. Ault, editor of Industrial Freedom, and Frank Hoehn were here from the Equality colony last Monday.

Fred Carlson, of Anderson Island, was over to see us last Wednesday, with Mr. Flaudine, a relative from California.

William Hewitt has gone to southern California on business. We are sorry to lose his presence among us, and hope to have him here again at no very distant date.

Visitors to Home are always given a cordial welcome, whether in sympathy with all our views or not. If in doubt

whether or not to believe the terrible tales of the Tacoma press, come out here and see for yourself.

Some facts with reference to Puget Sound climate may interest our outside readers. The highest temperature for 1900 was 83 degrees; the lowest was 21 degrees. Western Washington has never had a case of death by freezing or by sunstroke. The nights are cool, both summer and winter. The warmest night of the year had a temperature of only 62 degrees. The entire snowfall for the year was 1.2 inches; and this was on the ground but a short time. There are twenty-six states whose normal rainfall exceeds that of western Washington.

The Tacoma daily press has suddenly become exceedingly venomous on the subject of our little colony, and has been bringing all manner of "railing accusations" against us. Boiled down, and scareheads and epithets omitted, the sum total of all the charges is that some members of the community believe in Anarchy, and that Discontent has sometimes spoken disrespectfully of the government. Nothing has been found against the character of the people as peaceful, harmonious, hardworking men and women, whose energies are devoted to building up their own homes and to earning a fair living by honest labor.

The land owned by the Mutual Home Association is located on Von Geldern Cove (known locally as Joes Bay), an arm of Carrs Inlet, and is 13 miles west from Tacoma on an air line, but the steamer route is about 20 miles.

The association is simply a land-holding institution, and can take no part in the starting of an industry. All industries are inaugurated by the members interested and those willing to help them. Streets are not opened yet and we have no sidewalks. Those thinking of coming here must expect to work, as it is not an easy task to clear this land and get it in condition for cultivation. There are 87 people here—24 men, 23 women and 40 children—girls over 15 years 4, boys 3. We are not living communistic, but there is not anything in our articles of incorporation and agreement to prohibit any number of persons from living in that manner if they desire to do so. Those writing for information will please inclose a self-addressed, stamped envelope for reply.

## HOW TO GET TO HOME.

All those intending to make us a visit will come to Tacoma and take the steamer TYPHOON for HOME. The steamer leaves Commercial dock every afternoon except Saturday and Sunday at 2:30 o'clock. Leaves Sunday morning at 8 o'clock. Be sure to ask the captain to let you off at HOME.

## RECEIPTS.

Carlson \$1, Morong 26c.

"A financier is a man who makes lots of money, isn't it, father?"  
"No, Freddy; a financier is a man who gets hold of lots of money other people have made."—Ex.

If we live truly, we shall see truly.—Emerson.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS  
FOR SALE BY DISCONTENT

Perfect Motherhood. Lois Waisbrooker.	1 00
Irene or the Road to Freedom. Sada Bailey Fowler.	1 00
Business Without Money. W. H. Van Ornum.	50
Helen Harlow's Vow. Lois Waisbrooker.	25
God and the State. By Michael Bakunin.	05
Moribund Society and Anarchy. By Jean Grave.	25
Anarchy. By Enrico Malatesta. Is It All a Dream? By Jas. F. Morton, Jr.	10
God and Government: The Siamese Twins of Superstition. W. E. Nevill.	05
The Chicago Martyrs; The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Judge Gary's Court, and Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe and Schwab.	25
Five Propaganda Leaflets on the Sex Question.	10
Personal Rights and Sexual Wrongs What the Young Need to Know. E. C. Walker	30
The Revival of Puritanism. E. C. Walker	10
Appeal to the Young. Kropotkin. Mating or Marrying, Which? W. H. Van Ornum.	05
The Evolution of the Family. Jonathan Mayo Crane.	05
Love in Freedom. Moses Harman.	05
The Evolution of Modesty. Jonathan Mayo Crane.	05
The Regeneration of Society. Lillian Harman.	05
Motherhood in Freedom. Moses Harman.	05
Institutional Marriage. M. Harman.	05
A Tale of the Strassburg Geese.	05
The Coming Woman. Lillie D. White.	05
Plain Words on the Woman Question. Grant Allen. With remarks by E. C. Walker.	05
Variety vs. Monogamy. E. C. Walker	05
Marriage and Morality. Lillian Harman.	05

OUR WORSHIP OF  
PRIMITIVE SOCIAL GUESSES  
BY EDWIN C. WALKER

No man is wise enough to foresee the secondary results of any proposed restriction, and no history is copious enough to record the evils that have ensued upon denials of liberty.—George E. Macdonald.

## CONTENTS:

Love and the Law; the Moloch of the Monogamic Ideal; the Continuity of Race Life and Tyranny; Food and Sex Fallacies, a criticism; When Men and Women Are and When They Are Not Varietists; the New Woman, What Is She? What Will She Be? the State Hiding Behind Its Mistakes; Bishop Potter's Opinion of Divorce; Love, Its Attractions and Expression; Is She an Honest Girl? Lloyd, Platt and the Pitiful Facts; Social Radicals and Parentage.

Appendix: Anthropology and Monogamy; Love and Trust versus Fear; Reflections upon reading William Platt's "Women, Love and Life."

Price, 15 cents. For sale by DISCONTENT.

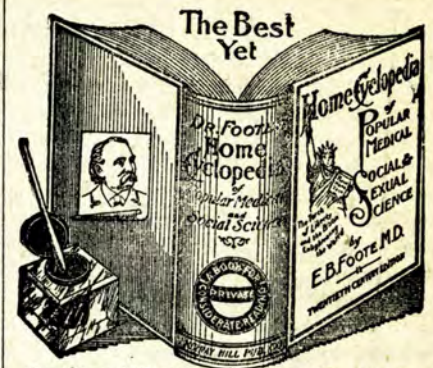
THE NEW HEDONISM.  
BY GRANT ALLEN.

Grant Allen needs no introduction to reading, thinking men and women. Man of science, a writer of charming expository and imaginative prose, he was, perhaps, at his best when bravely leading on, as in this brilliant brochure, in the fight against degrading religious and moral superstitions and time-sacred wrongs. No brief description can tell you what this splendid little work embraces no short excerpts can satisfy you. Price 5 cents.

FOR SALE BY DISCONTENT.

## MEETING.

The Independent Debating Club meets every Sunday at 2 p. m., at 909 Market street, San Francisco, Calif. Free discussion. Public invited.



Contains a full, plain, and easy reading treatise on "Health and Disease; with Recipes," all the average reader can profitably learn of personal hygiene and common diseases (including special, separate chapters for men and women); all right up-to-date, and fully illustrated with hundreds of photo-engravings and chromo-lithographs. Contains also the already popular "Plain Home Talk" about the relations of the sexes and social customs in all ages and all countries, with "original and startling" suggestions for social reforms; newly revised, enlarged, and well illustrated. All is "heart to heart" plain home talk from a clear thinking, plain speaking, liberal minded medical author of over forty years' experience. Nearly 1,000,000 of his former books sold. A curious book for curious people, and a sensible book for everyone. Answers 1001 delicate questions one would like to ask his regular physician and yet doesn't want to.

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Articles of Incorporation and Agreement of  
the Mutual Home Association.

Be it remembered, that on this 17th day of January, 1898, we, the undersigned, have associated ourselves together for the purpose of forming a corporation under the laws of the State of Washington.

That the name of the corporation shall be The Mutual Home Association.

The purpose of the association is to assist its members in obtaining and building homes for themselves and to aid in establishing better social and moral conditions.

The location of this corporation shall be at Home, located on Joes Bay, Pierce County, State of Washington; and this association may establish in other places in this state branches of the same where two or more persons may wish to locate.

Any person may become a member of this association by paying into the treasury a sum equal to the cost of the land he or she may select, and one dollar for a certificate, and subscribing to this agreement.

The affairs of this association shall be conducted by a board of trustees, elected as may be provided for by the by-laws.

A certificate of membership shall entitle the legal holder to the use and occupancy of not less than one acre of land nor more than two (less all public streets) upon payment annually into the treasury of the association a sum equal to the taxes assessed against the tract of land he or she may hold.

All money received from memberships shall be used only for the purpose of purchasing land. The real estate of this association shall never be sold, mortgaged or disposed of. A unanimous vote of all members of this association shall be required to change these articles of incorporation.

No officer, or other person, shall ever be empowered to contract any debt in the name of this association.

All certificates of membership shall be for life.

Upon the death of any member a certificate of membership shall be issued covering the land described in certificate of membership of deceased:

First: To person named in will or bequest.  
Second: Wife or husband.  
Third: Children of deceased; if there is more than one child they must decide for themselves.

All improvements upon land covered by certificate of membership shall be personal property, and the association as such has no claim thereto.

Any member has the right of choice of any land not already chosen or set aside for a special purpose.

**CERTIFICATE OF MEMBERSHIP.**  
This is to certify that has subscribed to the articles of incorporation and agreement and paid into the treasury of The Mutual Home Association the sum of . . . dollars, which entitles . . . to the use and occupancy for life of lot . . . block . . . as platted by the association, upon complying with the articles of agreement.

SEND 10 CENTS for specimens of 10 liberal papers and 10 tracts, circulars and sample of stocking yarn, or 3 cents for a copy of "Little Freethinker." Elmina Drake Slenker, Snowville, Va.